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Conclusions are presented indicating the role which public bodies, employers, trade unions, and other private groups can play in improving the employment opportunities of special groups, such as older workers, workers with family responsibilities, and workers of rural origin engaged in non-agricultural employment. Because of the increasing number of older workers in the labor force and particularly in industrialized countries, specially organized employment programs which address the problems of maximum age limits, job redesign, and employment services are discussed. The committee concluded that the re-entry of many women into the labor force is dependent upon changing public attitudes, providing adequate community services, and appropriate adult training. Concerning non-agriculturally employed rural-to-urban migrants and their dependents, assistance in mobility and adjustment provisions should be incorporated into national manpower policies, particularly where the size of this migrant population is significant. (CH)

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ADAPTATION AND EMPLOYMENT OF SPECIAL GROUPS OF MANPOWER.

Implementing an Active Manpower Policy

Conclusions of the
Manpower and Social Affairs Committee

approved for general distribution
by the Council of the OECD

Older Workers

Workers with Family Responsibilities

Rural Workers in Non-agricultural Employment
and Urban Areas

VT008769

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

ADAPTATION AND EMPLOYMENT OF SPECIAL GROUPS OF MANPOWER

An Active Manpower Policy implies the optimum employment of a nation's human resources in order to promote economic growth and rising standards of living, and also to satisfy the individual's desire to make a genuine contribution to the national economy. When facilitating occupational or geographical mobility and adjustment, the emphasis is customarily placed on helping, through training and assistance, those who have few handicaps or occupational difficulties.

A country's commitment to economic growth with a minimum of inflation, however, may cause unemployment for special groups of manpower. These are people who have to adjust to major changes in the industrial and social setting of their employment and/or domicile, those who have to reorganise their domestic duties in order to participate in the labour-force, and individuals who have been considered as only marginally part of the labour force or even as non-participants. In the past these groups have been recruited in an informal and often casual manner by both management and the public agencies. There have been few systematic attempts to prepare them to compete on the labour-market, to select or develop appropriate employment for them, to redesign jobs or adjust life and work surroundings so as to use them to the best advantage. Insufficient thought has been given to integrating the policies in favour of these special groups of people with economic and manpower policies as a whole.

The Manpower and Social Affairs Committee has sponsored a series of studies on improving the employment opportunities of special groups in the interests of the individual, the

enterprise and the nation as a whole. It has so far reached conclusions on the measures to be promoted for these groups: older workers, workers with family responsibilities and workers of rural origin engaged in non-agricultural employment either in the rural environment or in urban areas. These conclusions, formulated in the light of the O.E.C.D. Council Recommendation on "Manpower Policy as a Means for the Promotion of Economic Growth", have been approved for general distribution by the Council of the O.E.C.D. They indicate the role which public bodies, employers, trade-unions and other private groups can play.

This booklet contains the Conclusions of the Manpower and Social Affairs Committee and gives a list of publications and reports prepared in the Social Affairs Division on each subject. These publications may be obtained from the O.E.C.D. or its sales agents in the respective Member countries.

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CONCLUSIONS OF THE MANPOWER AND
SOCIAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE ON
POLICIES FOR THE EMPLOYMENT OF OLDER WORKERS

Preamble

1. The O.E.C.D. Council Recommendation on an Active Manpower Policy [C(64)48(Final)] calls for the "intensification of measures to make it easier for marginal groups of workers to take up and keep gainful employment."

2. Programmes organised specifically for older workers are becoming particularly important in industrialized countries because (1) some of them are meeting special difficulties in obtaining productive employment because of their age; (2) the number of persons in these age groups and in some cases their proportion in the labour force are increasing.

3. The Manpower and Social Affairs Committee has sponsored sutdies on several aspects of the employment of older workers relating to "Job Redesign", "Training Methods", "Placement Techniques" for older workers and "Flexible Retirement Age for Continued Employment of Older Workers". An International Management Seminar and a Regional Multipartite Seminar on "Job Redesign and Occupational Training for Older Workers" followed these studies. The Committee is persuaded that wider knowledge and utilization of the findings of the reports mentioned above would contribute to the attainment of the objectives of an active manpower policy.

4. The Manpower and Social Affairs Committee's study of the employment experience of persons of forty years and over indicates that some of them could profit from assistance in adjustment in the labour market, and that specific programmes for promoting their employment would increase the numbers of

persons in these age groups actively participating in the economy. Countries with relatively full employment and labour shortages could thereby enlist unemployed, underemployed and prematurely retired older workers into their active labour force. Developed countries with less than full employment should consider active participation of older workers in the light of their objective for the optimum allocation of manpower for economic growth and the attainment of their social goals. The individuals themselves would gain opportunities for satisfying and meaningful employment.

Older Worker Problems

5. Although the employment problems of older workers may in some cases become apparent on the job through falling productivity they more often become evident when these workers have to seek new jobs or transfer to new occupations requiring training due in some cases to (1) high rate of technological and economic change; (2) the fact that many younger people have had longer and more recent periods of education and training. The preference for younger persons and the views held by some employers concerning older workers as a class constitute barriers to a fair appraisal of their personal competence and potentialities. The prevalence of formal or informal age limits in hiring and job placements are evidence of these attitudes, even if exceptions are made or the limits relaxed in periods of labour shortage.

6. Discrimination where it exists against older persons is sometimes derived from institutional rules such as personnel practices favouring internal promotion or insurance plans. It is often reinforced by the failure of hiring officers to ascertain the individual's abilities and qualifications, or the inadequacy of existing tests of personal capacity or performance. Limited knowledge by some managements of the special techniques of job redesign and training methods for older workers tends to reinforce this resistance to their employment.

7. Individual older persons reduce the possibilities for their own easy adaptation by resisting retraining. Others willing to undertake such preparation find the facilities

inadequate and conditions and methods ill-adapted to their needs. The costs and special personal factors involved in the movement discourage some to make transfers to new jobs. In common with other workers, individual older workers often lack knowledge of vacancies and job seeking methods. Personal adjustment problems make reabsorption into employment difficult for some.

Constructive Programmes

8. Member countries should consider measures seeking to prevent older workers from being forced into unemployment, less remunerative employment, and premature retirement, and to extend the opportunities for their productive employment. Measures of this kind will clearly be of particular interest to countries with relatively full employment. Countries not facing a shortage of workers might also consider whether, in order to make the optimum use of the whole labour force, it may not be desirable to extend the training of younger people and to ensure greater leisure for all, rather than enforce or encourage retirement of older men and women able and willing to work.

9. General programmes for health, education and vocational training should be available to workers of all ages to promote mental and physical adaptability to changing job requirements and social needs. Some older workers have significant social and psychological problems which call for specialised vocational rehabilitation programmes. Therapeutic, health, and rehabilitative aid, social case work counselling and educational services for hard-to-place individuals would also be helpful to some older persons to adjust to current labour market standards.

10. A comprehensive and efficient employment service is essential for dealing effectively with special hard-to-place individuals. It should provide, through normal or "mainstream" arrangements or through special services for hard-to-place older workers, as required, interviewing, counselling and testing facilities, and placement procedures which ensure that the abilities of older workers are brought to employers's attention. Special advisory management services on job

redesign, arrangements of work schedules, on training methods for older workers, procedures for overcoming institutional, insurance, and other barriers, should be arranged in the light of national circumstances.

11. Training methods employed in public and private establishments should be specifically adapted to the learning needs of older persons. Preparatory general education may be acquired by individuals prior to their occupational training which should be for suitable available jobs. It should be carried out under conditions providing personal security in an environment which minimizes distraction. Special materials should permit learning through controlled experience participation, discrimination and discovery in a series of problem-solving tasks. Instruction should be brief and easily comprehensible. The programme should allow time for consolidation of what has been learned. Where jobs are not immediately available current experiments point to the value of multi-occupational training.

12. Employers should be discouraged by appropriate means from imposing general maximum age limits in engaging new employees. A special educational programme should be carried on, particularly among employers, to persuade them to consider older applicants on their individual merit. A number of countries have adopted legislation against discrimination on the basis of age to encourage this attitude among hiring officers.

13. Pension systems should allow for flexible retirement from work except where job requirements indicate otherwise and private and public bodies concerned with retirement benefit or pensions systems should be encouraged to review their practice to permit by legislation or regulation greater personal choice as to age of retirement.

14. Special job development programmes in the public services and private industry should be considered, where appropriate, to open up job opportunities particularly adaptable to the abilities of older workers. Shorter daily and weekly working schedules are at times appropriate for people nearing retirement.

15. Individual enterprises should promote the continued utilization of their older employees through personnel policies which minimize redundancy by internal job transfers, job redesign and training techniques especially adapted to older workers. Institutional policies and insurance rules which limit the employment of older workers should be modified without impairing the value of these benefits to all employees.

16. Research into the capacities, performance and methods of extending the productive employment of older workers should be encouraged and its findings presented by governments, employers' and workers' organisations and by experts in forms easily understood at the implementing level.

17. Countries in the course of development with persistent unemployment or under-employment recognizing the importance of promoting the employment of older persons, should make further examination of the application of the above policies.

For Consideration by the Member Countries

18. The Manpower and Social Affairs Committee commends these policies to the Member countries as guides for their activities for the employment of older workers.

OECD REPORTS ON
THE EMPLOYMENT OF OLDER WORKERS

JOB REDESIGN
by Stephen Griew
formerly of the Department of Psychology
University of Bristol, United Kingdom
86 pp.

TRAINING METHODS
by R.M. Belbin M.A. Ph.D.
Cambridge, United Kingdom
72 pp.

PLACEMENT TECHNIQUES
by Irvin Sobel
Professor of Economics, Washington University,
and Richard C. Wilcock
late Professor of Labor and Industrial Relations,
University of Illinois
81 pp.

PROMOTING THE PLACEMENT OF OLDER WORKERS
by the OECD Social Affairs Division
96 pp.

To appear shortly :

JOB REDESIGN FOR OLDER WORKERS
Survey and pilot study - Final Report
by Dr. G. MARBACH
with an introduction by Professor B. Metz

"International Seminars" series of reports

JOB REDESIGN AND OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING
FOR OLDER WORKERS
Final Report
of the International Management Seminar,
London, 1964
95 pp. free on request

THE EMPLOYMENT OF OLDER WORKERS
Final Report of the Regional Seminar,
Heidelberg, 7th-9th December, 1965
51 pp. free on request

CONCLUSIONS OF THE MANPOWER AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT OF WORKERS WITH FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES

I. Preamble

1. The Manpower and Social Affairs Committee, in its report on "Manpower Policy as a Means for the Promotion of Economic Growth" approved by the O.E.C.D. Council, affirms that the aims of the O.E.C.D. set forth in Article I of the Convention (the attainment of "the highest sustainable economic growth and employment and a rising standard of living" in Member countries) can be advanced by an active manpower policy which promotes most productive employment of all workers with due account of their potential skills and abilities. Obstacles to the employment of those who wish to join the labour force should be removed as far as possible.

2. The Manpower and Social Affairs Committee has carried out an enquiry among the Member countries with regard to certain aspects of the employment of women with family responsibilities. The Committee furthermore recognised that in some cases male workers with family responsibilities are in a similar position to female workers.

In this connection, the Manpower and Social Affairs Committee employs the term "family responsibilities" to refer to special responsibilities calling for substantial time to meet commitments for family and home.

3. The Manpower and Social Affairs Committee, taking note of the O.E.C.D. publication "Women Workers - Working Hours and Services", by Viola Klein, which summarizes the results of this survey, has observed that :

(a) The number and proportion of women with family responsibilities in the labour force of Member countries is steadily increasing; others wish to secure employment, if conditions of employment and community facilities are consistent with their family responsibilities.

(b) While family responsibilities rest on both husband and wife, at certain stages in family life, mothers and other persons in a similar position who work outside their homes face special problems in combining home and work.

(c) The general reduction of daily and weekly hours for all workers facilitates the fulfilment of the multiple responsibilities of home and work.

(d) Adequate and convenient community services (including facilities for child care) relieve the burden of multiple responsibilities, advance the well-being of individuals, families and society and facilitate the employment of those who wish to work.

(e) The availability of facilities for adult vocational counselling and training can greatly expedite the entry or re-entry of women into the labour force.

4. The Manpower and Social Affairs Committee has also considered the contents of the International Labour Organisation Recommendation on "The Employment of Women with Family Responsibilities".

5. Further, the Committee authorised the convening of a working party which, after studying the report prepared by Dr. V. Klein, considered programmes of Member countries for the employment of women with family responsibilities whose dual obligation proves burdensome.

II. Conclusions

A. Public attitude

6. Adequate realisation of measures to assist persons with family responsibilities depends upon a public attitude that provides effective support for them in their efforts to meet their multiple responsibilities.

7. Adequate and convenient community services help to avoid undesirable social consequences which may result from the concurrent responsibilities for the family and employment.

B. Statistics

8. Member countries should collect as far as possible statistics to provide information on the female adult population and labour force as to age education and training, marital status, number of children (pre-school and school age), length of work-week, occupation and occupational experience.

9. The O.E.C.D. Working Party on Manpower Statistics should develop standard guides for use to this end by national authorities.

C. Work Schedules

10. Basic hours of work vary among countries from less than 40 to 48 hours a week, spread over five to six days. The actual work-time depends upon the requirements of particular types of employment including the number of shifts;standards established by legislation and collective agreements between employers and employees ; local customs, and the amount of overtime worked.

11. Overtime on the whole is incompatible with the demands of family responsibilities and should as far as possible be avoided. Apart from other methods of regulation which will differ in individual countries, premium pay for overtime can serve as a deterrent to employers.

12. To facilitate the recruitment of persons with family responsibilities,particularly women,for suitable employment, the attention of the employing bodies should be directed to the advantages of adjustments in working schedules and in allocation of duties among jobs.

13. When part-time workers are employed, their position should be regularised so that the terms, conditions and benefits are not inferior relatively to those of full-time employment.

D. Community Services

14. Member countries should consider where appropriate and needed the promotion of adequate community services to relieve the strain of the multiple tasks of employment and care of dependants and thus facilitate the employment of workers with family responsibilities and the more favourable upbringing of their children. Public and/or private authorities may advance these goals by making provisions to train qualified personnel and for the organisation and equipment of the following at no cost or at reasonable cost :

(1) Home help, including, as may be appropriate, a home-aid service for urgent domestic services, particularly for medical and social emergencies, the training of home helpers, aids for the purchase of home equipment and machines, and courses in home economics in the regular educational system and in adult educational programmes.

(2) (a) Nurseries and child care services staffed by adequately trained personnel and operated according to the best child welfare standards, which may be made available to all children of working parents.

(b) After-school care and spare-time facilities for children, staffed by qualified personnel.

(c) School lunches.

(d) Leisure and recreation facilities for children during holidays.

(3) The hours of operation of services, distributive trades and administrations dealing directly with the public should be adapted, as far as possible, to the time schedules of the working population.

E. Adult Training

15. Many women who may wish to re-enter the labour-market could realise their wishes if provision were made for more effective counselling and training. The functions of these services should be not only to fit women for particular occupations but also to help them psychologically in the transition from domestic duties to broader fields of economic activity.

III. I.L.O. Recommendation on the Employment of Women with Family Responsibilities

16. The I.L.O. Recommendation concerning the Employment of Women with Family Responsibilities (N° 123 of 1965) lays down general principles concerning the integration of women with family responsibilities in employment on a footing of equality and without discrimination,and contains specific provisions relating to public information and education ; child care services and facilities ; education, counselling, training and retraining in relation to entry or re-entry into the employment market after a comparatively long absence owing very largely to family responsibilities ; and miscellaneous provisions to facilitate the performance of home and work tasks.

IV. For consideration by the Member countries

17. The Manpower and Social Affairs Committee commends these conclusions to the Member countries as guides for their programmes and measures to facilitate the employment of workers with family responsibilities.

OECD REPORTS ON
THE EMPLOYMENT OF SPECIAL GROUPS

WOMEN WORKERS - WORKING HOURS AND SERVICES
by Viola Klein
100 pp.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN SPAIN
by Pierrette Sartin
38 pp. free on request

To appear shortly :
PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT
by J. Hallaire

- III -

CONCLUSIONS OF THE MANPOWER AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE ON THE ADJUSTMENT OF RURAL WORKERS TO NON-AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT AND URBAN AREAS

Preamble

1. The O.E.C.D. Council, in its Recommendation on Manpower Policy as a means for the promotion of economic growth, recognized the need for "measures to facilitate the social adjustment and integration of people settling in a new area, in particular those coming from very different environments, such as international migrants and rural workers going to urban industries". These measures for reducing "the burden of such adjustments" will also facilitate the acceptance of change by "those who are most immediately affected" /C(64)48(Final)/.

2. The movement of rural, and particularly agricultural, population to non-agricultural employment and urban areas has been and will continue to be a significant factor in the economic and social development of most Member countries. Agricultural employment in Western Europe has already dropped from 42 per cent of the labour force in 1910 to 17 per cent at present, and forecasts for all Member countries suggest further contraction in the immediate future.

3. The Manpower and Social Affairs Committee and its predecessor agencies examined the problems and practices for adjustment of national rural job-changers to non-agricultural employment in rural and urban areas at a number of seminars, in field studies on national policies and practices of adjustment, and in a meeting of a working-

party(1), and have also reviewed the studies and reports of working parties of the Committee for Agriculture(2). The problems of social adjustment raised by national rural manpower and foreign workers were examined separately and the publication of a special report on the Adaptation of Foreign Workers to Industrial Work and Urban Life has been approved by the Manpower and Social Affairs Committee.

4. The present conclusions relate exclusively to the movement of national rural migrants to non-agricultural sectors and urban centres. The development of non-agricultural jobs in primary and secondary growth centres in rural areas themselves would provide another approach with the distinctive advantage of minimising the adjustment problems for individuals. The relative stress to be placed in specific areas upon the creation of jobs in them or assistance to people migrating to areas with job opportunities must be determined according to local and national circumstances and the ability of particular receiving areas to absorb newcomers. Improved public services in rural areas including better information on job opportunities, adequate primary and secondary education and vocational

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(1) a. Rural Manpower snd Industrial Development - H.Krier. Labour Mobility No. 1, O.E.C.D., 1961.
b. Adaptation and Training of Rural Workers for Industrial Work - G. Barbichon. Labour Mobility No. 2, O.E.C.D., 1962.
c. National Rural Manpower - Adjustment to Industry - G. Beijer. Labour Mobility No. 3, O.E.C.D., 1965.
d. International Joint Seminar on the Adaptation of Rural and Foreign Workers to Industry - Wiesbaden, 1963-4, Final Report and Supplement, O.E.C.D., 1965.

(2) a. Problems of Manpower in Agriculture, No. 67, O,E.C.D. Documentation in Agriculture and Food, O.E.C.D., 1964.
b. Geographic and Occupational Mobility of Rural Manpower, No. 75, O.E.C.D. Documentation in Agriculture and Food, O.E.C.D., 1965.
c. Regional Rural Development Programmes with Special Emphasis on Depressed Agricultural Areas, including Mountain Regions, No. 66, O.E.C.D. Documentation in Agriculture and Food, O.E.C.D., 1964.

training in rural areas are essential for improving the capacity of the rural population to qualify for jobs of higher standing both in the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors. These services would also help local economic development, moderate undesirable outmigration, and facilitate adjustment of those who move into non-agricultural employment.

Conclusions

Assisted movement

5. The contraction of employment opportunities and low levels of income in many rural areas will continue to cause a significant movement of people to urban areas. Assisted movement of population in which the individual's decision to move is based on full knowledge of the advantages and disadvantages of such a step, is to be preferred to unguided migration without any previous preparation or information on opportunities and conditions in new areas. The latter may produce problems which the individual and the receiving communities may be unprepared to handle, and therefore cause needless suffering. Unsuccessful migrants are also apt to return to rural areas, adding to their social and economic burdens.

The System of Aids to Mobility

6. An effective system of aids to occupational and geographical mobility should include information on prospects for employment in the receiving community, and access to the financial and social assistance necessary to provide personal security and smooth adaptation during the process of migration and integration into the new community. It calls for varied measures and a co-ordinated programme, covering the different groups of interests in migration, either from one rural community to another, or from agricultural and rural communities to urban centres and non-agricultural work places. These measures should deal with the adjustment process at all its stages, extending from pre-departure preparation, through the transfer period, to

the reception and the initial integration in the new working and living environment, all with a view to promoting individual self-reliance. It should include opportunities for social, economic and occupational guidance for the primary migrant and his dependants, information, education, vocational training and the development of receptive attitudes to the adjustment.

Action by the receiving community

7. The successful transfer of persons to non-agricultural employment and urban communities calls also for initiatives by local authorities and organisations in these communities to accelerate adaptation of the newcomers and to prepare the local inhabitants to receive and accept new groups of people. Besides adequate housing and reception facilities for the newcomers, there may be need for the extension or organisation of social adaptation services in the receiving community.

Promotion of well-being of the agricultural population

8. These measures, together with those for the promotion of the well-being of the remaining agricultural labour force and its adaptability to modern agriculture, would minimise unrest and social tension and help to realize the full economic benefits of occupational and geographical mobility.

National Policies for Mobility

9. The specific measures adopted and the resources devoted to these programmes by individual countries will be affected by their goals, levels of economic development, economic means and trends of migration. Adjustment provisions for rural migrants and their dependants should be made in national policies for mobility, particularly where the size of this migrant population is significant and where the social and economic distance between the migrants and the receiving groups tends to aggravate the adaptation problems both for individuals and communities. Countries with large movements of people from rural to urban areas

will tend to stress the rationalisation of the mobility and the prevention of personal hardships. Countries which deliberately encourage such migration will tend to provide wider varieties of aids and facilities for their national rural migrants.

Administration and co-ordination

10. The public authorities, local as well as central, should assume the ultimate responsibility for the organisation of the mobility assistance programme and operation of agencies and services for the migrants and the communities, but they may delegate the administration of parts of the programme to semi-public or private agencies. Programmes for the economic development of rural areas and their resulting manpower requirements, should be co-ordinated with those for persons moving to industry in rural and urban areas.

For Consideration by the Member Countries

11. The Manpower and Social Affairs Committee commends these policies to the Member countries as guides for their programmes and measures towards assistance of internal manpower movements from rural to urban areas, from the agricultural sector to non-agricultural occupations. The attached Annex presents brief illustrations of current programmes pursued by Member countries.

ANNEX TO THE
CONCLUSIONS ON ADJUSTMENT OF NATIONAL RURAL MANPOWER
TO NON-AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT AND URBAN AREAS

Since the end of the Second World War the decrease in the agricultural labour force has been very marked. It is on such a large scale in the majority of countries that its effects cannot be considered a routine adjustment. When one includes the movement of people towards urban areas, its positive or negative effects are too great to be neglected.

This phenomenon has been highlighted by numerous statistical analyses and we shall only quote a few figures for the sake of illustration. It is estimated that, between 1910 and the present day the agricultural labour force in Western Europe fell from 42 per cent to 17 per cent of the total active population. From 1950 to 1960, the decrease in the agricultural population in Austria, Italy and Sweden was at least 29 per cent. In the United States, where the proportion of agriculture in the manpower structure is already very low (8.1 per cent in 1950), the decrease was 24 per cent. It is to be anticipated that the movement will continue during the present decade.

The effects of the movement of people from agriculture and rural areas towards non-agricultural activities and urban areas are important, not only because of their scale but also their nature. The mobility of people is taking place from one to another type of community. Agricultural workers are separated from town workers not merely by geographical distance. In the majority of cases, economic and social distances exist between the mobile and receiving groups, creating differences which need

accommodation.

The extent and nature of the economic and social changes effected by these movements have not escaped the attention of the various groups concerned with mobility. A considerable range of activities have been undertaken to enable the movement to develop in the most favourable manner in order to avoid the high economic and social costs of some unassisted and spontaneous movements. The following paragraphs are intended to summarise and illustrate the conclusions which, in a general way, can be drawn from the measures applied in the various countries to regularise and facilitate the transfer of rural workers to non-agricultural occupations and urban areas.

1 - Evolution of concepts on action concerning the transfer of rural manpower

It would be pointless to dwell upon the period when consideration of the transfer of manpower was limited to the distinctive views of the rural and urban communities. To the agricultural world, rural out-migration seemed a negative process, while urban and industrial circles were apprehensive of the inflow of farm workers either because they led to underemployment of the urban population or stimulated new industrial expansion. Isolated action for economic and social development was taken independently, in many cases, within each of these spheres.

With industrial development, the appearance of new manpower requirements drew particular attention to the question of the productivity of workers coming from agriculture into industry. This problem led to a wider analysis of conditions for effective adjustment to the requirements of industrial production or life in urban communities. It was found that the adjustment of the newcomers could be analysed and facilitated only by taking into account a considerable number of factors entering into the whole transfer process: the widely varying groups affected by the transfer and the varied aspects of the social and economic structures in which it took place. In the least developed countries, the stream of peasants arriving in the towns

brought with it the problems of poverty resulting in unemployment or underemployment.

With the changes in agriculture and farm structures and the increased productivity in agriculture there resulted further displacement or underemployment. Those concerned with rural life then took to promoting non-agricultural employment as a solution for the surplus manpower problem.

Such considerations and arrangements, although originally separated in watertight compartments, thus became interdependent. Today the concept of complementary programmes has produced a considerable number of active manpower policies. Furthermore, the overall view of programmes for transfer has given rise to considerations in other directions. Concentrated at the beginning mainly on the mobile individual, measures now cover a wider field of action including the communities themselves and structural changes. For instance, the original concept of help to migrants as individuals did not rule out the establishment of urban growth centres in rural areas of underemployment, or the provision of economic information to agricultural people with a view to their occupational retraining.

Action concerning workers of agricultural origin has also become increasingly specific in character. At the outset, such action sought to improve the lot of workers generally and, in particular, to encourage their mobility by the occupational training of the unemployed. Subsequently, modifications were made of such measures for the specific benefit of agricultural workers, for example by granting them the same social benefits as industrial and commercial workers. Then measures were developed to meet the special needs of people in agriculture, such as the purchase of a rural dwelling, or allowances for retraining in non-agricultural employment.

The time schedule followed in introducing the changes in policy was not uniform among countries. Intervention, which originally was concentrated on the reception stage, has progressively been moved back to the preparation and

departure stages. Vocational training and help in finding a job before any transfer has taken place are currently important in assistance measures. New points of intervention are appearing in another direction: the rural migrant worker becomes a subject of special attention after his entry into urban life, for the introductory measures prove at times to be inadequate.

The adjustment programme is also being extended to other aspects of life. Adjustment to industry is a matter of achieving the required efficiency, security and stability but it is also inseparable from the total social adjustment process embracing family life, integration into receiving communities and the maintenance of relationships with the community of origin. It would be idle to pretend that the machinery for effective co-ordination always functions on a large scale and in perfect unison. The lines of development that have just been described are drawn from varied experience, observed in many countries.

A survey of experience shows the variety of demands made by programmes of coherent action, and the forms of intervention which have so far been most effective and offer preliminary proof of the constructive contribution made by measures for rationalising mobility.

2 - Aims and principles for rationalising mobility

The need for mobility is increasingly recognised among agricultural groups who may be obliged to move for the benefit of the national economy. At the same time, however, the conviction is growing that such mobility should take place under conditions and terms which foster security among the migrants. Public authorities are in fact organising their action with this objective in mind. Another concurrent goal is the social and economic integration of the mobile individuals in the receiving community.

2.1. Principle of security in mobility

Two general national economic aims support the adoption of programmes for granting assistance and providing

guarantees of economic special security to mobile persons:

(a) to realise thorough transfers, a better technological and economic balance of employment; and

(b) to reduce the social disparities among employees of different origin.

The aim of achieving an economic balance of employment (a) justifies the application of the principle of security in transfer for two main reasons:

(i) The guarantee of assistance and security offered to the farm population urged to move will compensate them for the advantages they enjoyed in their earlier situation;

(ii) the social and economic costs of maladjustment in the urban communities are of such magnitude as to justify the expenditures for improving the process of transfer for the migrants and thereby reducing these costs.

Similarly, the aim of reducing social disparities (b) may justify the application of the principle of assistance and guarantees of security in transfer for the following reasons:

(i) Where the change has been specifically requested to implement an economic policy, the assistance and guarantees of security represent compensation for the losses and disadvantages resulting from the transfer, the compensation being no longer an incentive but a right;

(ii) in view of the differences in the levels of income and education between rural workers and urban workers - noted in the majority of countries - these provisions for assistance and guarantees of security may be regarded as part of an effort to equalise the opportunities of the two groups.

2.2. Principle of integration

One result of these programmes to reduce the disparities in economic levels and behaviour - in other words the economic distance between mobile groups and receiving groups - is to help in the social integration of former

agricultural workers into the urban community and the non-agricultural labour market. Since transfers effected without adequate integration may be the source of serious maladjustment, the goal of integration is to seek more effective equality between the different groups of workers.

The principle of economic and social integration recognises the existence of different forms of social culture (values, standards and behaviour), but at the same time calls for adaptation of such forms to the physical requirements of the urban receiving communities and the non-agricultural labour market. Integration pre-supposes participation by the mobile group in the social life of the receiving communities and therefore implies the adoption of standards by the latter which permit such participation.

3 - Scope of measures

In describing the measures which have been tried out in various countries to realise the principles of security and integration, emphasis will be placed first on institutions and services and on the general organisation of manpower movements, then on measures directly affecting the individuals and groups involved in the process of mobility.

The discussions of the organisation of economic institutions and of the dynamics of employment will be followed by a review of institutions affecting para-vocational and non-vocational activities (home, school equipment, etc.). Measures affecting both the migrating and receiving groups will be studied.

The references to measures undertaken in various countries will serve primarily to illustrate the broad lines of action taken in this field.

4 - Action concerning institutions

The transfer of rural workers to non-agricultural and urban work is no longer regarded as indicated above, simply as moving a body of people from one occupation to another. Concern is growing to assure adequate adjustment of people to institutions and to one another.

4.1. Balanced employment policy

The damage done by the absence of an active manpower policy has shown itself in a variety of ways. In the first place, misguided movements of people towards centres of attraction that are already saturated, result in the transfer of rural unemployment to urban surroundings. Countries like Greece and Turkey are aware of these dangers. While encouraging the creation of job opportunities in urban centres, the public authorities endeavour to persuade manpower which is attracted by the town to remain in rural areas and to guide it, for example, into handicraft activities which are preparatory to industrial development.

Such unguided migration may, as is well known, result in a serious depopulation of the countryside, thus clearly demonstrating the importance of action which seeks both inter-sectoral and geographic balance. Austria, for instance, appreciates the dangers of having uninhabited mountainous regions. In some areas of Greece crops, such as tobacco, are threatened while there is a considerable amount of urban underemployment. In current plans for the rationalisation of French agriculture, there are special provisions for the State to provide subsidies to help certain agricultural areas to maintain an essential geographic equilibrium in contrast to areas where public assistance can be limited to simply maintaining the agricultural economy.

Transfers from agricultural to non-agricultural activities produce other population movements which cause further disequilibrium unless adequate job opportunities become available. A case in point are industrial plants in rural areas which provide jobs solely for male labour who therefore prefer to move to centres where there are also job opportunities for women.

The growth of employment in the urban centre of an area where small farms predominate may itself provide its own limitations. If such jobs are not sufficiently remunerative to allow the employee to give up his farm, he continues to operate it. Such industrial employment then

tends to sustain the transitional state of double jobs and consequently leads to absenteeism, excessive fatigue and the departure of the sons of agricultural workers who wish to avoid their father's condition of life. The overall agricultural structure does not improve because, paradoxically, industry in this case tends to freeze it. (There are analogous situations among the commuter workers in Vienna, Austria.)

4.1.1. Requirements of a balanced employment allocation policy

The need to plan job creation is very obvious in the case of transfers from agricultural to non-agricultural work. A balanced organisation of employment depends primarily on the definition of the optimum agricultural population and on finding quantitative and qualitative alternatives for the agricultural jobs destined to disappear. For this procedure to be effective and if scattered underemployment and local disequilibrium are to be avoided, the departures from agriculture have to be carefully calculated.

Anxiety concerning local disequilibrium is more recent than concern about the general balance of employment. After the Second World War, a period of reconstruction or overall development of the national economies was followed by one of concern for regional development. In 1962, for example, the Area Development Act was passed in the United States to encourage the creation of job opportunities in underemployed areas. Today, the existence of depressed areas and unbalanced regional economic development is stimulating the search for a wide range of job opportunities adapted to the demographic situation in crucial areas.

It may be described as an effort to stimulate the establishment of a variety of employments - varied from the point of view of sex, age, qualifications, seasonal variation and trends - to avoid the disadvantages of single firms which are incapable of providing a range of occupations to satisfy and stabilise the local population. The programme has also aroused interest in creating networks of employment, dwellings and services as part of a rural

community. In Germany, for example, the need to appeal to reserves of rural manpower who dislike the idea of living in a town has resulted in plans for networks of rural housing estates, grouped around a centre of community services, which can be used as a base for the establishment of industrial concerns. In Austria, a recent project provides for the creation of industrial job opportunities in townships of two or three thousand inhabitants, as soon as these are suitably equipped. In another case, there will be a re-grouping around centres of five thousand inhabitants.

The planning of employment structures cannot be dissociated from the study of their location. In choosing prospective industrial groupings, attention must be given to the commuting migration, and to the need of balanced networks of employment. Another consideration worth noting, is the emphasis on growth centres in less developed regions in preference to the costly extension of large towns which are more likely to become over-populated.

4.1.2. Arrangement of institutions to balance technical capacity

Differences in educational levels between agricultural and urban workers have been noticed in many countries. Such differences are usually more marked in the older strata of the active population, due to the gradual extension of education which leads slowly to the spread of elementary schooling. This trend is particularly noticeable in rapidly developing countries.

The principle of equal occupational opportunity necessitates changes in the institutions of general and technical education. Equalising levels may increase the chances of urban success for workers of agricultural origin and, moreover, may correspond with the increased demand for skills. Steps have to be taken in several directions to improve the educational systems. The deficiencies in schooling resulting from sub-normal school attendance in rural areas have to be corrected, through general programmes of improvement in these communities. Vocational

training preparatory to retraining in non-agricultural employment, prior to transfer, would be helpful. Finally, further general and vocational training might be given in the receiving community when the transfer has been effected and it has not been possible to apply the preparatory measures. Fitting vocational training institutions to manpower needs in growth centres is a major part of any active manpower policy and the training of people transferring from agriculture to industry is a striking illustration of the importance of this part of the programme.

The rational adjustment of educational methods may entail the creation of special institutions. For instance, the "Cassa per il Mezzogiorno", in Italy, has set up a vocational training centre in Turin to improve the skill level of migrants from the South and to prepare reserves of qualified manpower likely to return to the South when industry has become sufficiently attractive. The recent Act, renewing the development programme for the South, stipulates indeed that the Fund may, in general, extend assistance to migrants in their settlement area (Act of 26th June, 1965, Sect. IV, Art 20). With a similar intention of adjusting training institutions to manpower movements, the same organisation has encouraged basic, broad, occupational training of a kind which would qualify persons for the requirements likely to develop in the future.

4.2 Arrangements of institutions of reception

Experience has now demonstrated conclusively the risks involved in migration to a community which cannot provide sufficient amenities in the form of housing and social services. The adaptation of the services structure in the receiving community is the second essential aspect of rationally organised mobility. The arrival of large numbers of people in urban centres calls for quantitative and qualitative changes because of the new needs which have to be satisfied. For instance, school equipment may have to be completely rearranged - not simply increased - if the level of schooling falls with the inflow of migrants. More elementary teaching may be needed and, in particular, classes

to make up for the linguistic weaknesses (cf. reading and writing classes in the towns of Northern Italy).

Another example is the construction of houses adapted to unaccompanied migrant workers, who precede their families. This programme has often proved very effective in helping adjustment. (cf. Norway and France).

5 - Direct action concerning individuals

Even though action concerning employment institutions and non-occupational life is a prerequisite for efficient transfers, their effectiveness cannot be guaranteed unless some action is also taken in respect of the individual himself. Such action, which generally implies institutional measures, involves guidance, incentives and facilities to aid departure, and afterwards concerns the adjustment to new working surroundings and social life.

5.1. Measures to provide guidance

Rational guidance for agricultural workers on whether to move calls primarily for extensive information on the economic alternatives available to them in order that the move from agriculture may be less impulsive. Such guidance cannot pretend to be effective unless it is accompanied by assistance measures of an institutional character which aim at agriculture stabilisation as well as transfer. The current arrangements for guidance which are attached to educational and employment services also have to be adapted.

5.1.1. Information and education for the economic choice

A wise choice is a matter which may involve a complete transformation of a man's life and can only be made in the light of the various alternatives available to the rural population. The rural worker's situation may be such that he has no real choice between agriculture and other sectors of activity. In this case, information would be useful on the range of choice among the various alternatives, which are sometimes few. When, however, the

situation of the rural workers is not so limited, fundamental data on which to base a decision will enable them to avoid departures which are impulsive and unfavourable for the economy.

This basic information should deal with the possibilities of development in agriculture and in non-agricultural branches of activity and the needs for certain changes in agricultural structures. It also should include data which would enable farm workers to evaluate their individual situation and so possibly to consider breaking away from agricultural work. The transmission of information is most effectively accomplished when it is part of general economic and social training centred on agricultural problems.

Training of this kind is organised on an institutional basis in the Netherlands and in Sweden. In Canada, the recent Rural Development Rehabilitation Programme provides for an intensive increase in the social and economic training of the agricultural community. An interesting development in the Netherlands has been the change from collective "Rural-social guidance" to methods of diagnosis and counselling dealing with the individual situation of family farms and farm workers - "Economic-social guidance". In this approach, agricultural out-migration reappears as one possibility in a group of alternatives. It does not categorically exclude remaining and securing advancement in agriculture. This method thus enables selective mobility to be encouraged.

Here, the procedure of active anticipation should be fully applied. The agencies should seek out the farmer, for the worst-informed individuals are frequently the least anxious to obtain information. Guidance is so much less expensive because it prevents mistakes occurring. For this reason the French Minister of Agriculture has entrusted an association with the task of searching actively in the countryside for farmers likely to benefit from the measures in favour of surplus farms.

Such economic and social guidance is most effective

when the agricultural community participates in the process. The task of giving economic guidance in the Netherlands is entrusted by the public authorities to the rural workers' groups, and they are helped financially. The French association entrusted with the task of seeking out the surplus farmers is also a semi-public organisation, of which representatives of the agricultural associations form an integral part. In Sweden, information booklets on the assistance which employment offices and agricultural services can grant jointly to facilitate reconversion are distributed by the public authorities and also by trade unions and employers' associations.

5.1.2. Co-ordination of guidance and financial assistance to migrating rural workers

When guidance leads to a decision to leave agriculture, immediate and close co-operation is essential between the officers responsible for guidance and those who must apply the measures to facilitate the transfer of the rural workers to their new situation. This co-ordination calls for specific provisions. For example, in Sweden, there is an agreement between the agricultural services and the employment offices which allows one or the other service to give appropriate assistance to move in either direction. Assistance from the agricultural services would be help in the sale of the farm, and from the employment services, for occupational retraining. In France, the organisation already mentioned as providing guidance entrusts the agricultural workers to one of two services responsible respectively for assistance in the conversion of farms and for occupational retraining.

5.1.3. Adaptation of guidance provisions

The need for extensive and specific guidance calls for the adaptation of general provisions to this field. A school vocational guidance organisation adapted to rural communities which are to be transformed makes it possible to prepare a desirable solution. Adaptation of this kind is achieved in Norway through collaboration at the local level between the employment offices and school services.

Such arrangements for the guidance of adults make it possible to meet urgent and often very varied needs.

To facilitate the workers' mobility, moreover, employment offices themselves must be mobile. For instance, minibuses are used in Japan as mobile information services and in Sweden mobile services back up the employment services in those regions which are under particular observation and are very frequently isolated.

In addition to this employment office mobility, of course, the officers in these services should be specially trained to meet the new situations and utilise the new means of action.

5.2. Means to stimulate and facilitate the mobility of rural workers

The range of measures designed by the public authorities in various countries to stimulate and facilitate the movement of rural workers from their original sector has been considerably enlarged during recent years. It extends from compensation for leaving a farm to measures which facilitate finding jobs, provide vocational training and lighten the expense of removal and setting up a new house.

5.2.1. Compensation for giving up a farm

No mention will be made here of the provisions in force in various countries for the earlier retirement of older agricultural workers or even, more simply, of the severance allowances which are not part of reconversion measures. On the other hand, there is action which is closely linked with the transfer of an agricultural worker to a non-agricultural sector; such action, of course, can be combined with a change in agricultural structures and with raising the standard of rural life.

In the Netherlands, for instance, the age at which agricultural workers can take advantage of a premature agricultural pension was reduced, in 1965, from 55 to 50 years, an age at which former rural workers can still consider engaging in non-agricultural activity. With the same idea in mind, subsidies are granted in Japan to

workers who wish to leave agriculture but whose financial means do not enable them to make a transfer. In France, where the premature pension ("indemnité viagère de départ") is paid at 60 years, an age when the rural worker no longer has a chance of finding other employment, the measures in respect of young surplus rural workers provide for a series of reconversion measures: financing vocational training, removal allowance and subsidy for getting established in a non-agricultural situation. In Sweden, the public authorities repurchase farms and rural habitations when difficulty in relinquishing them proves a handicap to mobility.

5.2.2. Assistance in finding employment

Looking for employment is made easier by improved information about the labour market and more particularly by the wider field of action of the employment services. To supplement such general measures, individual assistance is increasingly desirable and a certain amount of progress has already been made in this direction.

Media for information on the long-distance labour market helps to guide the flow into the right channels. Printed bulletins announcing vacant situations are widely disseminated in Italy and Sweden. In Japan, booklets are available to those ready to migrate giving information on living conditions in the receiving areas. Television is used in Italy periodically for broadcasting the jobs vacant at national level. In Japan, the employment services have set up a central electronic apparatus which collects and distributes information by teleprinter on the supply and demand of jobs. This apparatus facilitates the movement of rural manpower, one of whose major handicaps is regional isolation.

These measures demonstrate the wide field of action of local services, which is particularly necessary for inter-sectoral labour exchange work.

One special provision worthy of mention is direct financial assistance to potential migrants; the assistance is given to job seekers who are obliged to look for

employment in an area a long way from their homes. In Norway and Sweden, workers who are offered a job in a place far away from their place of residence receive reimbursement for the travelling and subsistence expenses and possibly those of their wives - incurred when personally examining conditions of employment offered to them. These measures form part of arrangements for facilitating the mobility of workers generally.

5.2.3. Special provisions for vocational training

Vocational training measures are a most important part among the whole group of measures for the reconversion of rural workers. Ideally, training is given before reconversion. To be effective, the training measures should be supplemented by allowances enabling the worker to defray the necessary expenses during the period of apprenticeship. Pre-training is often needed to bridge the gap between the level required to take useful advantage of normal technical instruction and the level that has in fact been reached by rural workers.

Finally, it is desirable to associate firms with training arrangements when the public means of training are insufficient and when agricultural workers have already been engaged by firms.

5.2.3.1. The training available to agricultural workers is, in the majority of cases, part of the general adult vocational training provisions. Slight variations may be desirable; for example, in France some places are reserved or created in adult training centres for workers from agriculture. This is done by agreement between the agency responsible for guidance and reconversion and the Ministry of Labour in charge of adult training, in order to ensure that rural workers have at least the same chance of being admitted to such training as workers of non-agricultural origin. Adult vocational training is free of charge in France, in the Netherlands, in Norway and in Sweden, and includes a subsistence allowance.

The need to improve the basic cultural level of rural workers before beginning their technical training has led

to special pre-training measures in such different countries as the United States and France, where they are applied, and Turkey, where they are planned.

5.2.3.2. Training for workers actually employed is provided in several countries generally to all workers. A notable proportion of the people who take advantage of it are of agricultural origin. The difference in the economic level of workers of non-agricultural origin, and those of agricultural origin already engaged in industry and desirous of improving their skills is not, as a general rule, sufficient to justify more favourable treatment of the latter.

A special principle to be followed in this area may appear to be discriminatory in character. Intensifying the opportunities for advancement of workers of agricultural origin seems to be the surest guarantee of equal treatment for rural workers. Such greater opportunities should, however, naturally be quantitative in character to equalise the chances of urban and rural workers. It has often to be different in character to allow for a higher proportion of facilities for pre-training, to enable everyone to reach the basic cultural level indispensable to occupational development.

Collaboration between the public authorities and the firms in the training of workers can be most helpful. It can take the form of individual bonuses granted to workers who attend courses or grants to firms who organise them.

5.2.4. Assistance for removal and establishment

Assistance from the public authorities in removal and for settlement often is an important incentive to mobility reconversion. Reimbursement of removal expenses is a part of the general measures to promote mobility in Japan, in Norway and in Sweden; in France it forms part of the special provisions for surplus rural workers. Allowances are granted to facilitate people to settle down and start on a new job by reason of general programmes in Norway and Sweden, and of special provisions in France. In Norway, special allocations are paid to the spouse who remains in

the place of origin when one of the couple is obliged to work in a place far away from the family home.

5.3 Adjustment to the working community, and adjustment of the working community

Special measures are necessary to facilitate the integration of the worker arriving from agriculture, both from the point of view of his firm's productivity and the satisfaction of his own needs. Such effective integration implies the mutual adjustment of mobile individuals and of the receiving community. This may be crystallised in the action to promote occupational stability after leaving agriculture and more particularly in improving the workers' qualifications. Action by the receiving occupational community could take the form of preparing the foremen who supervise the recruits of rural origin.

One of the first signs of inadequate adjustment of the rural migrants is occupational instability. This has been observed in varying circumstances. The factors which favour instability are disappointment after undue expectation, linked with a very low level of qualification and mistaken descriptions of non-agricultural work, unsatisfactory family living conditions, the possibility of returning to the region of origin, as well as the general factors which account for normal labour turnover. Very detailed initiation into the conditions of non-agricultural working life, and especially industrial life, prove beneficial in this respect. Preliminary preparation can be given at the guidance stage. Such action has been indicated in France where information meetings have been tried out to explain the conditions of industrial life to rural candidates for transfer. Some candidates abandon the idea at the end of these meetings and it is estimated that this saves a considerable number of failures in reconversion. Adult vocational training is also a very effective means of helping achieve stability through initiation into the working conditions and through the qualifications it provides. It also appears that a sub-group of rural migrants, anxious for occupational and economic

promotion, keenly resented the absence of opportunities for advancement. This fact is an additional reason for setting up, where feasible, training facilities for workers who are keen to get on.

Action to assist manpower of rural origin should also be taken during the introductory period of the new working life. In Sweden, a particularly high rate of instability was observed among underemployed workers benefiting from the provisions to promote mobility, and action was intensified to improve the candidates' preparation at the guidance stage. Permanent contact was maintained, moreover, with the worker during the period of his introduction to non-agricultural occupational life on his monthly visits to the employment office. An effort to welcome the migrant worker can also usefully be made by the management in the firm and the trade unions. A campaign in this direction was started to draw the attention of managers, trade unions and municipal authorities to the dangers of a high rate of turnover among migrant workers, to the various difficulties encountered by the latter and the responsibility which the different receiving groups have in assisting in this adjustment.

The need for something to be done for mobile workers, through action in respect of the receiving occupational environment, is illustrated by the measures which are necessary in firms receiving manpower which is culturally very different from the established personnel, and in firms which are decentralised and move their supervisory staff to areas very different from their home district. In Italy, the movements of the Southern population to the North and the establishment of Northern factories in the South have provided a remarkable range of experience in this connection. It appeared to be useful to prepare the foremen in the North for their task of supervising manpower which was new to them and still affected by the circumstances of transfer (whether migration to the North or movement of supervisory staff to the urban centres in the South).

5.4 Adjustment to a new social life

Measures which facilitate the social integration of rural workers into a new community should be applied at different stages of the process of transfer. They are all the more necessary as the social distances between the mobile groups and the receiving groups are more marked. As with the working environment, successful integration depends on adjusting the receiving community to integrating the new elements.

Forms of action which are worth undertaking involve pr preparation for the contact between the migrants and their new environment, establishing links with the community of departure in the case of unaccompanied migrants and settling families in their accommodation. Such action implies special functions for the social assistance services and those relating to housing are the most important.

5.4.1. Gradual introduction into the new community

The preparations in Sweden and Norway for the migrants' contact with a new home environment have already been mentioned. The employment services are responsible for the removal expenses of the husband and wife when the proposed new locality is remote from their original home. In France, contacts are arranged between the transfer candidates, the trade unionists and, if possible, former rural workers who have effected their entry into urban life, during the meetings, already mentioned above, organised to initiate the new workers into industrial life. During the progressive transfer to the urban community, the rural worker should be provided with contacts during the phase when he finds himself alone. In the case of young people, it is important to avoid a sudden break with the family circle and possible return to the place of origin, which is often felt as a setback. For this purpose, on the initiative of the large firms, a system of live correspondence between young migrants and their families is organised in Japan with the help of tape recorders; a more general plan of "family links" is also indicated. In the case of families whose members are separated, particular care should be

taken to maintain contact between the migrant and his family remaining in the original homestead. Whether or not a return to live in the place of origin is envisaged finally, it is essential that migrants do not yield to the impulse to return, for this increases the manpower turnover and constitutes a setback in the matter of social adjustment. In Sweden, travelling expenses for regular visits in either direction are reimbursed to the migrant alone or to one member of the family. In Norway, a special allowance is granted to the migrant spouse separated from the family.

In the extreme case of random migration, for example the large number of Southern Italians streaming into the towns in the North of Italy, introduction into the new community calls for guidance and financial assistance from the very moment of arrival. Reception centres have been set up in the main railway station in Milan, and in the town, to give guidance to migrants and, if necessary, to ensure that they have enough to live on. Help to enable the migrant to solve his settlement and adjustment problems, however, should of course be arranged well before the time of his arrival. This requirement is met by attaching social workers to adult training centres, and through the guidance largely covered by employment services.

5.4.2. Social integration of migrants

The long-term integration of new arrivals calls for extensive action over a long period and concerns the receiving community as a whole. This action requires the setting-up of suitable institutions such as social reception centres which have a continuing influence with migrants, helping them to use the normal social and cultural services and bringing into play resources that are specifically adapted to their needs.

The New Haven Community Development Plan, in the United States, is an illustration of the principle of specific action to deal with the integration of outside groups into a community; this plan included the creation of an organisation exclusively devoted to the social entry into the community of coloured people and "poor whites". In

social integration action, an important place should be given to young people. The urban settlement houses in the Hague and Rotterdam, and action as part of the community development plans at New Haven, in North Carolina, and in Milan provide examples of achievements in this sphere.

5.4.3. Housing

Measures for housing migrants cannot be planned according to a uniform pattern or consist merely in increasing existing accommodation. Special solutions are necessary to meet particular situations. For instance, the construction of accommodation for migrants arriving unaccompanied is a most effective means of integration because it provides the migrant, who has come to "reconnoitre", with living conditions suitable for his trial period. Loans are granted by the State in Norway to employers for the construction of furnished rooms intended for workers arriving alone. The municipality of Como, in Italy, has set up a hostel for the use of migrant workers which, apart from being inexpensive, provides cultural services. Special attention should be devoted to housing young people. The residential centres for young people in Rotterdam and The Hague have been mentioned. Centres for young workers are growing in number in France: these encourage integration through cultural pursuits which facilitate social contacts with the new urban community.

The problem of adapting housing to the needs of rural migrants remains, however, because the wide difference in economic and cultural level between the migrants and the receiving population demands adjustment to urban conditions of life and type of habitation. The principle of not segregating migrants from the resident population is in time recognised but it seems, nevertheless, that in some cases it would be useful to have transit accommodation to allow for gradual adjustment to living conditions in large residential units. The key to social adjustment to the new established community should be sought through continuing action within the community itself. In this sense, the

Italian accommodation plan provides, in the residential units, for social services specialised in the task of integration.

The principle of priority often applied where allocation of housing is based on length of period of residence, poses a delicate problem. All priorities of this kind for allocation of housing have been abolished in Italy by the national social housing authority. In Sweden, a priority has been established even for unemployed workers coming to live in a new locality. In the same way, building programmes in developing areas provide for housing to be reserved for migrants but such measures do not fail to create difficulties owing to pressure by earlier local candidates.

6 - Co-ordination of action

The complexity of the forms of action recommended is due to its unending nature and to the many approaches needed because of the very character of processes of change which are as sweeping as are urban development and migration. Such complexity makes it essential to have co-ordination of the operations carried on by agencies whose functions are, by definition, specialised in particular aspects. Since development and integration involve a change in emphasis, or a transfer from one activity to another, the accustomed outlooks of these agencies or groups concerned with departure and reception must be flexible.

The great variety of applications cited in this review of practical measures has already shown the different levels on which co-ordination is desirable and the various agencies that are involved. Such co-ordination should take place:

(a) between the various public services,

(b) among public services, private and semi-public bodies and trade organisations,

(c) between workers' and employers' organisations.

Co-ordination between public authorities has been

mentioned with reference to the combined action by the agricultural services and employment services for guidance and financial assistance to rural candidates for transfer (France, Sweden). The effectiveness of joint action by the public employment services and local municipalities is illustrated by the reception centres which have been set up in Milan, Turin and Como, thus establishing the principles of the receiving community granting financial assistance to migrants.

Co-operation between public services and farm associations is an essential factor in action studies. In France and the Netherlands, the delegation of responsibility and the granting of material means to the agricultural organisations proved effective for the guidance of agricultural workers. The campaign against the turnover of migrant labour, organised by the employment services in Sweden, represents another case of co-operation among local communities, employers and workers in the common aim of integrating rural workers. Another example of possible collaboration is the assistance given by the public authorities to employers who take the initiative in vocational training (Austria, Japan) and housing construction.

New forms of co-ordinated action can always arise, as evidenced in France by the activity of the industrial and commercial workers' and employers' association for the purpose of administering an unemployment fund (UNEDIC). This association is paying a training grant to migrating rural workers - who do not belong to the contributing members' association - to supplement allowances received for other reasons.

7 - Prospects of future action

Much progress has already been made in the action taken by the different groups concerned with the transfer of rural workers to non-agricultural activity and urban life. The task is still enormous, considering the needs that remain to be satisfied and already the study of possible developments brings to light difficulties of a new

kind to which attention should henceforth be devoted.

The growth of the movement from agriculture towards the non-agricultural sectors affords a glimpse of rural sub-groups which are in less favourable conditions than the first groups of migrants. These new groups include older persons who might be encouraged to abandon agriculture if there were programmes offering incentives, and the small farm operators. Since these rural workers are older, they will be less easily adjustable. More particularly, they will be less qualified and as a result of developments in schooling, the differences between their cultural level and that of the receiving communities will be still more marked. They will include a greater number of ex-farmers - after the surpluses of agricultural workers have been drawn off - for whom the required conversion is more severe (Canada, Sweden).

With the growth of the tertiary sector, large numbers of older rural workers will be attracted towards the service sector occupations. The entry of rural workers into the service sector will demand a different kind of adjustment from that required by industry and, in particular, a higher basic cultural standard.

In the medium term outlook, the integration of rural workers into new industrial urban centres always involves the risk of turnover because of the desire for an improved standard of living. The success of the action which facilitated a first integration does not rule out the possibility of a second and unorganised movement, towards the larger towns. To minimise this trend, structural action in the new growth centres is necessary.

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